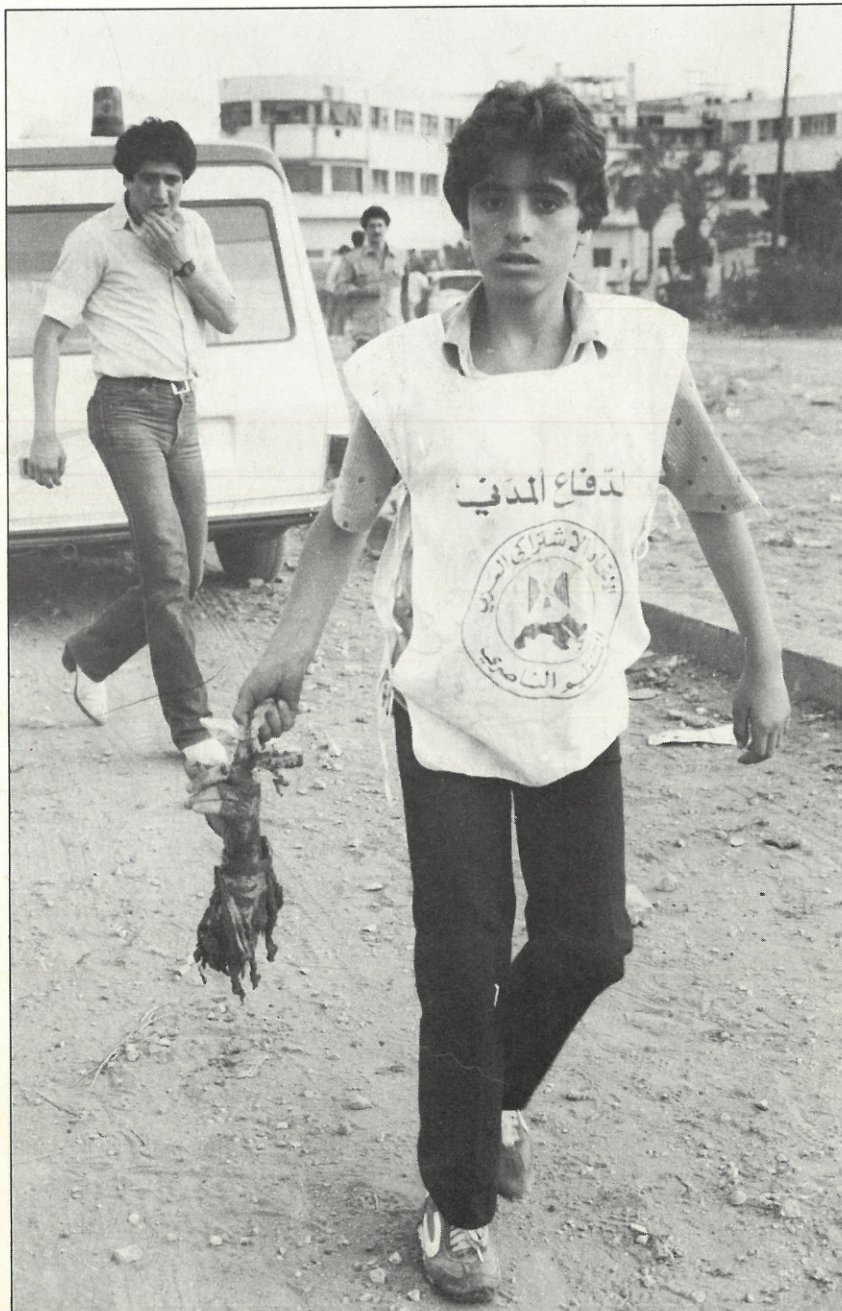


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"The apparent aim is to liquidate the Palestinian people - you can't do that to four million people."

- Dr Nahum Goldman, former President, World Jewish Congress, reported in The Guardian, 18th June 1982.

Holocaust in the Lebanon

**10,000 DEAD
16,000 INJURED
600,000
HOMELESS**



On 6th June Israeli warplanes bombed residential areas of Beirut, killing and injuring hundreds of civilians in a campaign of genocide against the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Photos by Gamma



"The Lebanese city of Sidon looked the picture of devastation. Whole sections of the town had been levelled. The streets were potholed, strewn with rubble and impassable in many places. I did not find one house in the city, where there was normally a population of 125,000 people, which had not been shelled and reduced to ruin, or thoroughly tattooed by small arms fire. The stench of rotting corpses beneath the debris and rubble was so overpowering one needed to put a handkerchief to one's face. Few people remained in the city."

- Stewart Dalby reporting in The Financial Times, 16th June 1982.



DEVASTATION AND HUMAN SUFFERING: 600,000 persons were made homeless by Israel's deliberate bombing of civilian residential areas according to international relief agencies. Deprived of shelter, a Palestinian mother (right) breast feeds her baby on the main road after Israeli forces bombed her home.



"The member states of the European Community vigorously condemn the new Israeli invasion of the Lebanon. Like the bombardments which preceded it and which caused intolerably high loss of life, this action cannot be justified. It constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and of the most basic humanitarian principles."
- EEC Statement issued on 9th June 1982.

" Mr Beigin and General Sharon had clearly planned a massacre, an attempt to destroy not only the PLO guerrillas as a fighting force, but to break the political aspirations of the Palestinians as a nation or people. It would be a matter of the deepest shame, not only to Israel but to the whole world community, and above all the United States, if this attempt were allowed to succeed."
- The Observer, editorial comment, 13th June 1982.

"Listen," the Israeli said, "I know you are tape-recording this but personally I would like to see them all dead. I would like to see all the Palestinians dead because they are a sickness wherever they go."
- Robert Fisk reporting in The Times, 17th June 1982.

"Just how many people died in the Dresden-like destruction (of Sidon) may never be known. All I can say after a mercifully brief drive through the carnage is that the stench of death was unremitting."
- Daily Telegraph report, 16th June 1982.

"The towns of Tyre, Sidon and Damour jut out like milestones of devastation amid the orchards and plantations. Sidon with a population of 60,000 when the Israelis struck ten days ago, is the biggest and most chilling. Two out of every three buildings gape black and empty. They were bombed from the air, shelled from land and sea. The acting Lebanese governor puts the civilian casualties at 1,000 dead, 3,000 wounded. Sidon has hospital accommodation for 700."
- Eric Silver reporting in The Guardian, 16th June '82





Doctors arrested as thousands die

WITH TENS of thousands of critically injured Palestinian and Lebanese civilians requiring urgent medical attention, these doctors and hospital staff in Sidon were rounded up and placed under arrest by the Israeli occupation forces. They are seen being taken away for interrogation. (Photo:Gamma)



600,000 homeless as Israel seeks final solu

SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND civilians displaced and homeless, 16,000 wounded and ten thousand dead - the legacy of Israel's wanton carnage in the Lebanon. The self-confessed aim of the Israeli invasion: to smash the military and political structure of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and silence Palestinian demands for self-determination in an independent state and their rejection of Israeli military occupation in Palestine.

Within hours of the attempted assassination attempt on the Israeli ambassador in London, Israel fulfilled the prediction of the London Representative of the PLO, Mr Nabil Ramlawi. Denying PLO involvement in the shooting of the Zionist envoy, Mr Ramlawi warned that the incident 'serves Israeli not Palestinian interests'. He explained, 'It will be used by the Beigin regime to justify further murderous air and land attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, and to suppress our families in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.'

Although Israel claimed the Lebanon invasion had been provoked by the incident in London, the British government made it clear that there had been no PLO involvement in the shooting.

The invasion, and the brutal assaults on Palestinian and Lebanese civilians had long been expected. And it had been long planned by the Zionists. In *The Times* on 16th June, a spokesman for the Conference of Presidents of American Jewish Organisations explained their endorsement of Israel's carnage, declaring, 'We had been well prepared for the invasion by General Sharon, who briefed the organisation a little time ago.'

ZIONIST STRATEGY

As Israeli forces moved northwards through Tyre, Sidon and Damour towards Beirut, they wreaked havoc on every town, village, and refugee camp. Air, land and sea forces pounded civilian areas mercilessly; hospitals, schools, residential districts, power stations, refineries and roads were bombed and destroyed.

Although Israel claimed her objective to be the removal of any military threat from PLO forces in southern Lebanon, the UN forces in the area have confirmed no PLO violations of the ceasefire agreed last July. The real purpose of the Zionist invasion was a general plan to crush the Palestinian rejection of the

Zionist occupation in Palestine, which the Beigin regime is convinced is orchestrated by the PLO. The Zionist answer is the massacre of thousands of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in an effort to destroy the PLO. The invasion is crucial to Israel's plans to force West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinians to submit to Israel's 'autonomy' plans - the euphemism for giving permanence to Israel's illegal military occupation, and denying the Palestinians their full legitimate right to self-determination in an independent state.

At the same time, Israel seeks to impose Zionist control over Lebanon and to create a compliant regime in Beirut which will sign a Camp David type peace treaty between the Lebanon and Israel. In effect the Zionist strategy is based on securing peace with the neighbouring Arab states in order to strengthen the Zionist subjugation of the Palestinians under military occupation and to enforce the exile of some two million Palestinian refugees.

The Lebanon invasion, in effect, is the stark declaration of Israel's rejection of the international view that peace in the area cannot be achieved until Israeli forces withdraw from occupied Arab lands, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians are respected. These involve the return of the Palestinians driven from their homeland by the Zionists in 1948 and 1967, and the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

ISRAELI PROPAGANDA

From the first day Israel's military campaign has been supported by a fullscale propaganda campaign aimed at undermining Palestinian and Arab resistance to the invasion, and reducing international condemnation and reaction.

In addition, of course, Israel has attempted to justify an invasion which has cost the lives of thousands of civilians, and brought total destruction of every town and refugee camp in southern Lebanon, leaving 600,000 displaced persons homeless and without shelter, food, medicine or water.

* Claims that the Chairman of the PLO Executive had fled to the refuge of a foreign embassy in Beirut are only the latest in a series of totally false reports



tion to the Palestine question

put out by the Israeli government and their Phalangist allies. The next day the world's press showed Yasser Arafat inspecting front line positions around the city.

* As soon as the invasion began, Israel claimed her intention was to end Palestinian resistance operations from south Lebanon into northern occupied Palestine. This might have sounded fair to uninformed western opinion, but it didn't square with UN confirmation that it was Israeli and not PLO forces which had violated the July 1981 ceasefire in southern Lebanon.

* At the same time, Israel declared her mission was limited to clearing Palestinian forces from a 25 mile zone along the border. This delayed action by western governments allowing Israeli troops to launch new air, land and sea attacks further north around Damour and Beirut.

* Almost as soon as Israel had crossed into Lebanon, Israel announced the capture of Tyre and Sidon. This was also designed to present western governments with a fait accompli. It was, of course, false. Twelve days later Palestinian forces in Sidon were still confronting Israeli troops, but for ten days international opinion and governments had accepted Israel's claims, and again delayed taking any concrete action in support of the Palestinians and Lebanese.

* After reported exchanges of artillery fire in Beirut on 16th June, during the night, between Palestinian and Zionist forces, Israel announced no involvement in the incidents, implying that the Palestinian forces were fighting each other.

* One of the more sickening items of Israeli propaganda was the claim that Palestinian forces at the Ain Hilweh camp outside Sidon had taken people from the refugee camp as hostages. The rejection of the claim by the PLO was ignored by the western press while Israel had succeeded in presenting the PLO as wholly inhuman and unworthy of international support.

THE PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON

Israel claims her invasion is intended to provide the Lebanon with a firm and powerful government.

Israel's implication is that the Palestinians are responsible for the problems within the Lebanon. This,

of course, diverts attention from the fundamental question as to why 300,000 Palestinians live in Lebanon, when their homeland is in Palestine, and ignores Israel's own role in destabilising Lebanon.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has consistently declared its respect for the sovereignty of the Lebanese government and territory. It is a gross distortion of the facts to claim that the PLO or the Palestinians were responsible for the break-down of law and order in Lebanon. Repeatedly and consistently Palestinian forces have sought to remain aloof from the political divisions within the Lebanon, and maintained such neutrality until Israel and the United States began providing arms and funds to right-wing militias in the Lebanon. The arms were used to create unrest by attacking Palestinian refugee camps, and forcing the Palestinians onto the defensive. When the Palestinians were forced to organise armed protection for the refugee camps, this was further exploited by Israel and her allies to justify new attacks on the refugee camps and towns of southern Lebanon.

THE FUTURE

Israel and the United States are already writing the obituary of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, but then this was true following Black September in 1970, and at the time of the Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt, and it was declared when Israel last launched a major invasion of the Lebanon in 1978.

The PLO, in fact, is the manifestation of the Palestinian determination not to submit to injustice, oppression and the foreign occupation of our homeland. It speaks on behalf of four million Palestinians and provides the united voice of our people, whether living under Israeli military occupation, or forced to live as refugees in exile.

The struggle will go on until the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people are fully respected, and an independent Palestinian state created in Palestine.

As Zbigniew Brzezinski told BBC *Newsnight* on 16th June, whatever the military outcome of the war, "the political reality of the problem continues", calling for a solution to the Middle East question which "grants the Palestinians the political dignity to which they're entitled".

10th June 1982



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AN UNBALANCED POLICY

Americans were embarrassed — how could they not be? — by the way their country was represented at the United Nations last Friday night, when Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick informed the Security Council that the vote she had cast only a few minutes earlier was a mistake. They should be no less embarrassed by what happened in the Security Council the night before last although this time there was no mistake. Or rather there was, but the Administration has not yet admitted it, probably even to itself.

Mrs Kirkpatrick vetoed the draft resolution on Lebanon on the grounds that the text was "not sufficiently balanced to accomplish the objectives of ending the cycle of violence". The text in question is reproduced on page seven. What is unbalanced about it? Presumably, in Mrs Kirkpatrick's eyes, the fact that Israel alone is condemned. But then Israel was the only party to have refused compliance with the two previous resolutions, both of which had been passed unanimously. Does "balance" require that one condemn equally those who comply and those who refuse, and if so, is there any point in passing resolutions at all?

The fact is that Israel is the aggressor in this conflict. Her claim to be exercising the right of self-defence, to be taking unavoidable action to secure the safety of her population in Galilee, does not stand up. Until last Friday, the population of Galilee had been protected against attacks from Lebanese territory by the ceasefire which the PLO accepted last July. The only shelling of Israeli territory from Lebanon occurred for four hours on May 9, in response to Israeli air raids in which at

least twelve Palestinians had been killed and more than thirty wounded. The shelling caused no damage of casualties, according to the Israeli army. It was quite obviously intended by the PLO as a reminder that its artillery was capable of reaching Israeli targets, and that a ceasefire cannot be unilateral.

Yet on Friday of last week Israel resumed her air raids on a much larger scale, killing at least fifty people and injuring 150, most of them civilians. At that point the PLO did begin intensive shelling of towns and kibbutzim in northern Israel. But Israel's leaders, who took the decision to launch the air-raids on learning of the shooting of Israel's ambassador in London, must have known perfectly well what the PLO's response would be. Indeed the BBC's correspondent in Jerusalem, who is usually very well informed about government thinking and certainly not to be suspected of any sympathy for the PLO, reported that the air-raids should not be seen as mere retaliation but as preparations for a large-scale invasion.

Israel has presented this invasion as the response to a long series of ceasefire violations by the PLO. A statement issued by the Israeli embassy in London on Sunday speaks of "more than 150 terrorist attacks" since last July, in which twenty-four people have been killed. But it should be emphasized that most of these incidents occurred in the occupied territories, that most of the victims were not Israelis, and that during the same period quite a number of Palestinian civilians have been killed in the occupied territories by Israeli troops. The statement also asserts that since July 1981 the PLO has received

15,000 tons of military equipment "from Syria, Libya, Saudi Arabia, the Soviet Union and its proxies", including "heavy artillery, light tanks, ammunition and rockets". But is it really supposed that the ceasefire (whose terms were never committed to writing) could have inhibited either side from receiving arms deliveries? If so, the violation by Israel must surely have been no less grave.

The best case that Israel can make is that the ceasefire was essentially fragile, and that therefore she was well advised to break it at a time and in a manner of her own choosing, rather than leave the initiative to the other side. It was fragile, indeed, and the PLO would probably not have been able to hold its troops back forever in the absence of any progress towards a political settlement. But the ceasefire could have been strengthened, particularly if Israel had been more co-operative in her attitude to the United Nations force and had encouraged her Lebanese allies to work towards a political consensus in Lebanon (an essential prerequisite if Syrian withdrawal is to be obtained); above all, if she had shown some willingness to move towards a political settlement with the Palestinians, thus providing some ground for the moderates among them, who advocate co-existence with Israel in a separate Palestinian state, to stand on.

The present invasion is unnecessary, appallingly destructive, and most unlikely to facilitate a solution of either the Lebanese or the Palestinian problem. Unless the United States clearly recognizes that, and makes it clear that it cannot and will not support such a policy, its credibility will be further reduced in the Middle East.